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178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Maiduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

## 2. Education.

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Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams.

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[554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigious and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

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Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

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**[GEIDAM]**

634 trict. The Alkali is in charge of the Geidam District court,  
642 a grade 'C' court according to the British ranking system, but  
• 642 the most important of the district courts. The Headmaster and  
his three teachers run the Geidam Primary School. The various  
experts, such as the veterinary, dispenser, etc., are all edu-  
cated men who have been trained in their specialty. They are,  
however, NA appointees and are directly under the authority  
642 of the Ajia. Only the Lowans are concerned solely with the  
town itself, and they, too, it will be seen, are directly re-  
sponsible to the Ajia.

648 The British instituted a formal Village Council, with an  
634 elected membership of fifteen to twenty. The Ajia is Chairman,  
and Alhaji Amadu Kolon, an important canteen owner and trader,  
is the elected vice-chairman. There is also a District Council  
similarly instituted, with the Ajia again as Chairman. Its  
twenty-five to thirty members are all Lowans of Geidam Dis-  
648 trict, save for four or five. In contrast to these formal  
councils, there is an informal and traditional Kanuri council  
which consists of the people who come and sit at the gateway  
(chinna) of the Ajari while Yerima Mustapha is arbitrating dis-  
putes. It is made up of a shifting membership, some more perma-  
nent than others, which includes important kabuna of the Ajia's,  
NA officials who are in a special relationship with the Ajia,  
and some of the important citizens of the town.

634 Only the Alkali is not under the direct authority of the  
642 Ajia, and in theory the courts and the executive branch, repre-

**[GEIDAM]**

## 1. Religious specialists.

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The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.

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As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Geidam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding

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villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections

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of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

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The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political authorities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.